

PEACE NEWS

No. 420 June 30, 1944 2d.

ABOVE THE BATTLE . . .

Before Cherbourg, Sunday.

WHAT is probably the strangest episode in this battle for Cherbourg occurred here this morning. Just as the final attack was about to begin a motor-cycle driven by a German and with a US airman in the sidecar came through the battle lines, a white flag waving over it in the breeze.

Our advance patrols stopped it. They saw the airman was badly wounded in the left arm.

"I am a prisoner of war of the Germans," he told them. "This officer is a German Army doctor. I have come from the military hospital in Cherbourg under a safe conduct with the doctor to ask for blood plasma and more drugs to treat the wounded there."

They were taken to a command post and the story was told again. A few minutes later they were being supplied with the necessary drugs by US Army doctors.

Then they went back, the doctor and the wounded airman, back through the lines into the besieged city of Cherbourg.

—BUP message published in the Press on Monday.

JUST PEACE TERMS NOW MIGHT SHORTEN WAR BY MONTHS

Observer's Commentary

WHAT the authorities expected I do not know; but the first phase of the invasion of Europe appears to have gone much "better"—forgive the word—than most ordinary people expected. How utterly pitiful it is, then, that nothing but unconditional surrender is offered to the enemy.

This blank negation seems so senseless and inhuman at a moment when the announcement of terms might shorten the war by months, that it is hard to believe that it is now a deliberate policy decision. One would think that both Roosevelt and Churchill would seize any opportunity of saving France from piecemeal devastation.

Possibly, they are counting on a swift campaign in France—a Blitzkrieg, in reverse. But the chances even of that would be greatly increased by the announcement of terms. So that one is driven to the conclusion that the cause of the apparent senselessness is that the Big Three are quite unable to agree on any terms to offer Germany. I am not surprised, if the reports of Russia's terms to Finland are true.

Effect on Germany

THE Economist (Jun. 25), discussing this subject, makes an important distinction. It points out what seems to be the fact that Germany is so fully totalitarian that

there are no groups—not even the Army—that could take the initiative in peace-talks.

"Definite terms might prove a catalyst capable of organizing the split and atomized elements of responsible German society. Obviously 'unconditional surrender' is not such a catalyst. . . . Whatever its original meaning, it is being taken today to mean not terms unilaterally imposed, but an absence of terms."

Pacifists are, in principle, opposed to the unilateral stipulation of terms. But, since the free negotiation of terms is out of the question, it is desirable that they should recognize how far superior the unilateral stipulation of substantially just terms would be to the present refusal to state any terms at all. Against the horror of the unknown Germans must be expected to fight to the last, because there is really no hope for them. But not Germany will be the chief sufferer now, but France.

Cherbourg example

HOW strange is the contrast between this blankness and the terms on which the defenders of Cherbourg were summoned to surrender! Here there was no suggestion of unconditional surrender.

Not merely were the German soldiers assured of humane treatment as prisoners; not merely told that they would be allowed to write home seven times a month, and cared for as well as they were cared for in the German army. But they were actually invited to preserve themselves from futile destruction in order to reconstruct Germany.

"Live to rebuild Germany!" If only the political authorities could speak to the German nation with the same accents as the military authorities speak to the German soldiers!

The first step

THE above is the context in which to consider some remarks of Lord Halifax, speaking in America on Jun. 24. He said:

"We hear a great deal of talk of the re-education of the Nazis when this war has been won. That is likely to be a task more intractable than any other. But of one thing we may be sure: we shall make nothing of it unless, simultaneously, we re-educate ourselves. We can only hope to set and keep the world in order if we make our lives and that of our nations a pattern of that which we would fain make the world."

If we read "beforehand" in place of "simultaneously," that is true enough. But let us translate the abstract proposition into concrete terms. The first step, and much the most crucial, in the re-education of Nazi Germany will be the nature of the peace-settlement we impose upon her.

Had we not better begin immediately re-educating ourselves to seek not revenge, but justice? Our statesmen appear to be very far from regarding Germany as, by right, an equal number of a true society of nations. Yet that is, in practice, the necessary beginning of any attempt to make ourselves a pattern for the world.

No "purge" now?

LET me hasten, in fairness, to record the report that the regional commissioner left behind by de Gaulle in Bayeux, M. Coulet, has proclaimed a policy of moderation towards local French officials who have served under Vichy.

"He has shaken hands with the sub-prefect of Bayeux, testifying that he has 'carried out his duties in a satisfactory manner within the limits permitted by brutal occupation and unwholesome authority.'" (Observer, Jun. 25.)

This is said to have aroused violent criticism among the Communists, in Algiers. Moreover, the Communists are said to be demanding a *levée en masse* of the whole French resistance movement. The blessed word "mass" has, apparently, lost none of its fascination for Communists. There must be mass-rising even though it leads to mass-massacre.

Whether M. Coulet's statement betokens that Gaullism has abandoned the evil notion of a purge of the vast majority of French officials, who have served under Vichy simply because they stuck to their job; or whether (as is more probable) it means that M. Coulet has had to fall in with the wishes of the Allied Commanders—the change of attitude is to be welcomed. However, the sub-prefect now appears to have been dismissed.

Finland's neighbours

THE details of the reports from Stockholm of the new terms which Russia is offering Finland are ominous. The Daily Telegraph (Jun. 23) and the Evening Standard (Jun. 22) give accounts that agree, except that the Standard adds:

"Finland to break off cultural and political attachments to Nordic Scandinavian States and to orientate itself politically henceforward to Soviet Russia."

If that is true it is monstrous. The Scandinavian countries—as I am never weary of repeating—represent the finest development of responsible democracy that has been achieved in the world. If Finland's natural mem-

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Germany, Europe and future peace

A CLEAR and constructive declaration concerning the place of Germany in the post-war world (says a statement by a special committee of the National Peace Council) "might not only shorten the war and lessen the sufferings of the occupied countries and the fearful cost of the military struggle itself, but would also materially strengthen the prospects of an enduring peace."

Such a clear and constructive declaration it has itself made. We give it, in a slightly abridged form.

A European Solution

The test of a peace policy towards Germany at this time will lie not so much in its leniency or harshness to the Germans but in its relevance to the fundamental needs and problems of Europe and the world as they are today. It must be judged by its fitness to promote firstly within the limits of Europe and then over a wider field that common human society based on principles of shared interests and mutual aid which is the essential condition of peace.

Such a policy cannot be harmonized with measures of vengeance or retribution against the whole German nation. A true peace cannot be founded on any condonation of the cruelties and oppressions practised by the Nazis. But to seek to extend responsibility for the excesses of Nazism from those who are properly answerable for them, to all Germans and

NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL DECLARATION POINTS THE WAY

especially to future generations of Germans, can only serve to create a new spirit of aggressive nationalism, to frustrate the building of a European commonwealth and to set the stage for a third world war. The world is entitled to guarantees against the recurrence of German aggression, but, if they are to be dependable, such guarantees must be found not in repression but in the achievement of a new Germany integrated into a new Europe and sharing obligations and benefits on equal terms with her neighbours.

The Political Aim

Under such a policy the military occupation of Germany would be regarded not as part of the structure of the peace but as the last military act of the war. Its purpose would be the maintenance of order and administration pending the recreation of free German institutions, and the provision of machinery and control for the services of relief and rehabilitation. The central political aim would be the encouragement of all those elements who have either actively resisted or reluctantly accepted the Nazi régime, and who can be relied upon to ensure the fullest contribution from Germany to a peaceful co-operation among the peoples.

The freedom of German-occupied countries must be restored, but the annexation of indisputably German territory or the attempt by the victors to enforce a change in the structure of Germany itself independently of any general European reorganization should be excluded. All territorial questions should be considered in relation to the primary aim of creating a more organic European system in which the significance of frontiers would largely disappear.

A Wider Economic Unity

In the economic field such a policy would recognize that the economic

future of Germany cannot be properly determined save in relation to the economic future of the whole European continent. Proposals for the economic crippling of Germany are in effect proposals for the general impoverishment of the European peoples. German industrial and scientific resources should be regarded not merely as a German but as a European and world asset and the future use and development of them should be considered as part of a European and world plan to maintain full employment and to improve standards of living. In particular the heavy industry of Germany should be utilised together with the heavy industry of the United States, Great Britain and the USSR, to equip the more backward countries.

It is in terms of the contribution in labour and materials, which Germans can make willingly to this general purpose—the restoration of devastated areas and to the general improvement of economic standards—that the problem of reparations should be considered. If it be argued that such a policy leaves Germany the potentiality for rearmament, the answer is that no better safeguard against rearmament and aggression can be found than the internal reconstruction of Germany within a more unified or federated Europe—that is, within a larger economic and political unit made workable by planning and organization on a truly democratic plane.

The Spiritual Factor

The reintegration of Germany into the community of peoples will require, however, the full play of spiritual and psychological forces. War alienates and divides; peace must create fellowship and understanding among peoples if it is to endure. The remaking of personal links with Germany will be doubly difficult because of the mental and physical isolation of Germany in the last decade, but by the same token it will be doubly necessary.

Confidence may find its best opportunity of growth in the tasks of rehabilitation and reconstruction which

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Bombs into ploughshares

A SUBSCRIBER whose railings have been deported against her will sends us the compensation received that it may be used in furtherance of the cause of peace. Surely others amongst us have similar good ideas.

Headquarters Fund to Jun. 23: £154 14s. 1d.; last fortnight: £19.

Donations to the Fund, which should be marked "Headquarters Fund" will be gratefully received by me at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

MAURICE L. ROWNTREE
Hon. Treasurer.

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All letters on other than editorial matters
should be addressed to the Manager

THE PRICE OF PEACE

ON another page appears a letter by
Corder Catchpool which takes the
controversy concerning our remarks
upon the opening of the Second Front
on to the plane on which it really
belongs.

Here is our reply.

My dear Corder Catchpool,
I, like you, am quite unable to pray
for quick victory. It is my rational
mind which decides that, of all the
practical possibilities it can foresee,
a quick victory now offers the best
hope of a quick end to the war and a
corresponding diminution of human
suffering; and I feel in honour and
honesty bound to declare my con-
clusion.

Nevertheless, I should, as I say,
be quite unable to pray for it. The
only brief end to the war I could
pray for is some sort of immediate
human reconciliation between the
enemies. And I'm afraid I couldn't
pray even for that. It's no use my
saying to myself that "with God all
things are possible." I, as a given
individual with my own experience
and my own psychology, am unable
to pray on that basis: that is not the
kind of God in whom I believe.

Indeed, I doubt whether I personally
could pray "that a real peace may
come and come quickly," not because
I do not long for this (I do), but
because I do not believe it possible
without a mighty wave of spiritual
illumination. And I can't pray even
for that because to do so runs counter
to what I know by experience and
apprehend by imagination of the
manner in which the divine purposes
are worked out in the minds and
lives of stubborn men. I do not
believe in mighty waves of spiritual
illumination. I believe in men and
nations being brought to spiritual
awareness by experience and above
all by suffering. This is a belief
in the nature of God to which the only
truly conformable prayer is "Thy will
be done!"

I do not in fact believe that real
peace can come quickly: I do not
believe that it *ought* to. There's the
snag. Were I to pray for that, I
should be praying for something
which is alien to the teaching of
history, read as a manifestation of
the divine will, and to my own per-
sonal experience. I know something
of what it costs in sacrifice and
suffering for a wayward natural man
to become submissive to the will of
God; and I do not believe that that
submission could have come without
that suffering and that sacrifice.
Shall it, can it, ought it to be other-
wise with nations?

I hope I have made plain to you
at least that nothing was further
from my mind than the thought that
pacifists—those of them who do pray
—should pray for a quick Allied vic-
tory; and if I seem to have gone
further than I should in considering
the nature of prayer, I apologise. But
it is important: terribly important.

Your letter seemed to indicate a
path along which we might achieve a
true reconciliation of the tension
which exists between the outworn-
religious and the superficial-political
in our movement. The contradiction
between them is, I believe, itself
superficial. But at present we are
still beset with unprofitable dog-
matisms on the one side or the other.
I try to steer clear of them by stick-
ing—as far as I can—to the truth as
I see it. But much more than that
is required. And this I find it hard
indeed to supply. Your letter, I think,
has enabled me to see more clearly
what it is that is lacking; and this
reply will (I hope) have enabled you
to see where my difficulties lie.

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points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles
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The pacifist outlook - II

THE outstanding fact in cur-
rent Labour Party socialism
is its essential unity on most
major issues with capitalism, its
traditional enemy.

The road by which this astonishing
result has been reached is not difficult
to trace. It commenced in the
eighties of last century, in
the early days of the Fabian
Society and before the
Labour Party was founded,
when Sidney Webb and Bernard
Shaw, together with their supporters,
defeated William Morris and his sup-
porters on the issue of mass versus
qualitative production.

From that time British socialism
has moved steadily in the direction
of a quantitative civilization. Having
thrown over qualitative production in
the interest of a higher standard of
living, it had no option but to endorse
and even welcome the speeding-up of
production by increased specialization.

When this resulted in mechanizing
the worker, and eventually in con-
verting him into the servant and
feeder of the machine, compensation
was promised in shorter hours and
higher wages, and thus in opportunity
for creative pursuits. But these
advantages were offset by the ex-
haustion of speeding-up processes,
and by the intervention of slumps in
which nearly half of the workers in
most of the staple industries were
put on half rations.

Instead of leading to a re-birth of
the artistic instincts, therefore, the
effect of industrialism was to repress
them still further, and indeed to
obliterate spiritual values altogether.
Increasingly the mechanized worker
sought relief in the spending of
money, and thus in superficial rather
than creative forms of play. The
multiplication of wants and desires
which followed created demands for
commodities which put an end to the
prospect of increased leisure.

★

It thus transpires that modern
socialism as a principle of social sal-
vation has completely broken down.
The acceptance of a quantitative
civilization has destroyed the soul of

WHERE STANDS SOCIALISM?

the socialist movement and its vision.
It has led almost automatically to the
acceptance of high salaries and
honours, to the cultivation of bour-
geois tastes and standards, and to a
sterile House of Commons, while it
has encouraged the working classes
to become cheap imitators of bour-
geois materialism, to cultivate endless
appetites and to spend their money
on ephemeral pleasures.

This spiritual bankruptcy is now
exemplified in the startling fact that
the Labour Party faces the post-war
world with four primary aims which
are almost identical with those of
Big Business:

1. To continue the old trading and
industrial policy which rests on a
high level of manufactured exports,
and which has been responsible for
all the major international dis-
asters of the last half-century;
2. To tighten up the Empire into a
compact economic and military
unit;
3. To adopt a comprehensive system
of State economic and industrial
planning, with guaranteed economic
security for all in return for the
right of the State to "direct" all
labour power into whatever channel
it may desire;
4. To deprive Germany of the control
of her chemical and heavy indus-
tries, and of participation in the
world's air-carrying services.

Item 1 is the high road to World
War III. From its past propaganda
Labour knows that "the several
hundred million £s of new exports"
which Herbert Morrison has declared
Britain must have if she is to main-
tain her pre-war standard of living,
can only be acquired by a more in-

LETTERS

Damnable hypocrisy?

Observer's notes on "Sensitive Warriors"
(PN, June 2) are symptomatic of the sense of
frustration which is today leading many, other-
wise sane pacifists, to rather silly outbursts of
self-deprecation.

These "sensitive warriors" (what a con-
tradiction!) are, claims Observer, men of "imagi-
nation and courage and discernment" at least
equal to that of pacifists.

Since pacifists are pacifists precisely because
they have (a) the imagination to feel for the
victims of war, (b) the courage to denounce
the filthy business and put up with the conse-
quences of their denunciation, and (c) the
discernment which sees through the spurious
appeals to "morality" to the sordid power-
politics of actuality, it is more than difficult to
see how the same traits could make it "morally
impossible" for Observer's warriors to stand
out of this war.

Quite obviously, an absolute "loathing of
war and love of peace" can, in a consistent
man, result in war-resistance.

For those who sincerely, though misguided-
ly, believe in the efficacy of war, we can pray
"Father, forgive them; they know not what
they do." But it is the most damnable hypo-
crisy for pacifists to champion those who,
knowing war for the scourge that it is, can
become its willing instruments.

DOUGLAS NICHOLSON

Observer comments: Mr. Nicholson's letter
is a good example of the self-righteousness
which I deplored. It ignores the fact that
Nazism has brought a new kind of political
evil into the world, and that many men, as
imaginative and as honest as pacifists, do not
believe that non-resistance or non-violent
resistance could prevail against it. To their
scepticism, political pacifism has no convincing
reply. The only pacifism that is on sure ground
is that which is based on a superrational con-
viction: and this superrational conviction is of
a kind that does not and cannot feel any moral
superiority over the imaginative and reluctant
soldier, but rather a deep sympathy with him.
To call this sympathy "damnable hypocrisy" is
stupid.

The P.P.U. message

However diverse the views of PPU members
may be, few would deny that it is an organi-
sation that is something more than a union of
war-resisters. Pierre Edmunds states (PN,
May 9) that its fundamental message as a
movement (his emphasis) is in the Pledge and
the assertion "Wars will cease when men refuse
to fight." This is paradoxical: for a movement
cannot be static. The implication of the PPU
is the pacifist way of life. Herein lies its
fundamental message: a respect for the human
person.

We should be concerned, as a movement,
with our endeavours as a body for the special
object of working for a peaceful society. And
that means an earnest attempt to understand
the world in which we live. But social aware-
ness does not bind the PPU to "a definite
social policy" or identification with a specific
party or parties. For individual pacifists to
support individual political candidates or poli-
tical groups is a very different matter from the
pacifist movement allying itself with political
movements. If we are to have a "message" for

contemporary society, pacifists must develop a
sense of social and political awareness: but the
individual should be left to find for himself the
direction in which that awareness leads. The
PPU will still be an organisation which "wel-
comes pacifists of all shades of opinion," and
its common endeavours in the cause of peace
will bring a deeper unity of spirit within the
movement.

LEOPOLD HUGHMAN

259 Chesterton Road, Cambridge.

P.R. and majorities

May I point out in reply to Conan Nicholas
(PN, May 12) that the distinction between
government and chamber does not affect my
argument?

Government by inflated majority without
representative opposition is full of dangers:
above all it weakens the democratic principle
and may pave the way for a regime of grimmer
stuff. Moreover in this country it leads often
to complete inactivity. When, however, such a
government decides to take a strong line, we
find ourselves at the mercy of men who have
not got the support of vast numbers of the
electorate. If we are lucky, they are men of
high principles and sound ideas, but can we
trust to that? A good dictator often seems a
blessing, but is that a case for dictatorship?

In vague terms, "Democracy" means the
principle of government by all and the majority
decision being accepted. Perfect democracy is
impossible, but we can do our best by gather-
ing a few hundred from all over the country
who are representative of the millions. How
they arrange to do the work is a difficult
question, but everything depends on the cham-
ber being a fair mirror of the country, and
parliamentary democracy stands or falls by it.
As a last word, it is worth saying that to
rely on the present electoral system for big
majority governments—or anything else for
that matter—is hopeless: the system is quite
capable of doing the reverse and anything else
in between.

MICHAEL BARCLAY

Beltane School, Melksham.

Our M.P.s

I am amused at the sob story which "my
Conservative MP" palmed off on your re-
viewer. "Take the example of a young man
entering Parliament without any private re-
sources," he pleads. "He marries and then his
wife has a baby"—at which point principles
and pocket clash melodramatically.

Where are such men? Tory MPs, as Haxey
has shown, never lack private resources—and
if they marry usually reinforce them. Labour
MPs normally enter the House 25 years after
they could be called young men, and rarely
young enough to be interested in founding
families.

By all means give MPs, who almost alone
have had no war bonus, more money and
dependents' allowances. Then they may fulfil
these desirable conditions—of lacking private
resources, and of beginning their Parliamen-
tary career before their political, not to say
physical, virility has deserted them.

JOHN ELIOT

In view of the many claims on our very limited
space, correspondents are urged to keep their
letters under 250 words.

By WILFRED WELLOCK

flammable competition than ever, by
forcibly preventing the Dominions
and other agricultural countries from
developing a more balanced economy,
which they desire and are determined
to do, by yet another sacrifice of
British agriculture, and by a new
speeding-up of industrial processes,
which will enlarge the army
of robots.

Item 2 is tinctured with the
usual lip-service to India's
freedom, and to more education and
better conditions for backward
peoples, while very recent history
proves that national necessity can
quickly dull the sensitivity of Labour's
conscience on such issues.

Item 3 leads to the final stage of
the slave State. The application of
Fordism to a wider range of indus-
tries will sweep away hundreds of
vocations, and since there is no
functional difference between tighten-
ing nuts on a clock and on a motor-
car, the case against industrial
conscription on vocational grounds is
destroyed. The effect will be to lay
still more stress on security and
money-values and to minimize the
importance of liberty.

Item 4 indicates that Labour has
forgotten all its international doc-
trines and ideals, its condemnation of
the Versailles Treaty and of mono-
polism, and is now ready to plunge
the German people into a deeper
servitude than before, and humanity
into the miseries and barbarism of a
world revolution from whose spiritual
and physical wreckage it may never
recover.

Has pacifism an answer to that
challenge?

Wilfred Wellock's final article in this
series will be published in a fort-
night's time.

Words of Peace—79

A summons to heaven or to hell?

Yet the bells have an answer. The
bells of Christ's churches are com-
manded by a belligerent Prime
Minister to peal for victory: no bell
tolls for the lives of young men. The
bells ring out the triumph of
militarism: they sound no chord of
mercy and loving kindness. The
clangour of the bells is the clangour
of resurrected Empire; not of a
resurrected Christ. If one army or
another is annihilated in the sands of
Libya or on the mud-flats of Tunis,
if one influence or another dominates
Europe for a moment of history,
human nature is not thereby changed.
Oppression remains oppression. Are
they Church or Churchill bells?

Lionel Fielden in "Beggar My
Neighbour."

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The victory mind and peace

To the Editor

I WAS interested in the remarks on the Battle of France in Peace News, following the expression a week before of the hope that it might be brief.

I took the earlier reference to be in the nature of a cry of anguish at the extension and intensification of war's horrors which the Second Front involves, and the longing that it all might end soon. In that sense I agreed with your "human" plea, as you describe it.

When, however, in the following issue you analyze alternatives on the intellectual plane, and come to the conclusion that we must accept as best and hope for a quick Allied victory, I cannot see my way to do so. As a "would-be Christian" (the qualification is one which George Lansbury used to apply to himself), I shall want to bring such longing to the test of prayer. I find that I cannot pray for an American-British victory, not even for a quick one.

I have just been signing some letters typed before I read the Jun. 23 Peace News, and I find the following sentence in one of them, to a German refugee friend: "the only thing we can do at present is to pray that a real peace may come, and come quickly." It was chancing to see those words that caused me to write to you. I do not think they mean the same thing as hoping and praying for a quick Anglo-American victory.

The reason for this appears in part in another article on the same page of Peace News, where I read, "as in 1919, so again today, the war mind proves that it is inherently incapable of making peace." If I paraphrase this slightly and say, "the victory mind is inherently incapable of making real peace," I think it helps to explain my difficulty, and why I can pray for peace, but not for victory. If one believes that a change of heart in all concerned is the real need, can one pray for anything less?

CORDER CATCHPOOL

49 Parliament Hill,
London, N.W.3.
See leading article, page 2.

NEW PAROLE PLAN FOR C.O.s

As the result of a 35-minute interview with President Roosevelt by three representatives of the National Committee for COs of the American Civil Liberties Union, a new parole plan for imprisoned objectors has been announced by the US Bureau of Prisons and the Selective Service authorities.

The interview took place in March, and the President was said to be very attentive and interested.

M.P.s' QUESTIONS ON CONTROL OF FOOD FOR GREECE

ELEVEN million bushels of Canadian wheat have so far been shipped through the blockade to Greece, and none of it has fallen into the hands of the Nazis, according to a recent report to the Canadian Dominion Government.

Why then is the Ministry of Economic Warfare not satisfied with this splendid achievement? On the answer to that question hangs the fate of the hungry children in other occupied countries.

Mr. Dingle Foot, the Ministry's young and brilliant Parliamentary Secretary, has just returned from Washington where he has been discussing blockade problems with the State Department. No doubt he has been pressed hard on the food-relief issue. The Food-Relief Campaign is informed that not only Congress but President Roosevelt himself is definitely in favour of extending this life-saving work.

When Mr. Foot reappeared in the House of Commons (on Jun. 20) he immediately had to answer shrewd questions from a senior member of his own party, Mr. Graham White, Liberal MP for Birkenhead.

Had the Ministry received any report from the Swedish-Swiss Commission in Greece? Had the conditions under which the import of food-relief supplies is allowed been observed? This was Mr. Foot's reply:

"We have received a large number of communications from the Commission regarding various aspects of their work but full reports on the operation of the scheme as a whole have not, however, been nearly as frequent as we could wish. As the House will appreciate, the most important condition and the one most difficult to enforce is that designed to protect Greek native produce. I am not reflecting in any way on the competence and devotion with which the Commission have carried out their task. I must, however, make it clear that we are by no means satisfied that this condition has been fully observed by the occupying authorities and troops. Moreover, as I informed the House in the Debate on Nov. 10, there were a number of occasions in the late summer of 1943 when the occupying authorities requisitioned or destroyed Greek crops allegedly as a reprisal for guerilla activities. This was certainly a breach of the spirit, if not the letter of the scheme."

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Thomas Moore intervened to ask if he could be given an assurance "that the Germans are not removing the domestic produce of Greece, simply to make way for what the Allies and others are trying to give them," to which Mr. Foot answered, "I wish I could give a categorical assurance on that point, but I cannot."

IRRELEVANT OBJECTION

These are thoroughly unsatisfactory answers. The incident of the destruction of crops in areas held by Greek guerilla forces is tragic but irrelevant. Even Mr. Foot admits that it is not a breach "of the letter" of the agreements.

Apart from that he cannot pretend that the Swedish-Swiss Commission has reported infraction of the control agreements; he does

INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION

There are many people in this country who, while they may have been willing to endure the restraints of industrial conscription during the war, would be most unwilling to suffer them gladly or quietly in peace-time. I am trying to discover the strength of feeling on this matter, and it would be most useful if those of your readers who object strongly to the idea of post-war industrial conscription would be good enough to write to me, stating both their objection to compulsion and their ideas for a satisfactory industrial organization after the war.

SYDNEY GEORGE CONBEER

Oakwood, Afton Rd., Freshwater, I.O.W.

Food relief by bomber

"Eight R.A.F. bombers are daily flying food to a famine-stricken corner of Southern Arabia, the Wadi Hadrarnaut, to save an ancient Arab nation from annihilation," reported the Evening News on Friday. "Three years of drought that dried up an oasis and withered its date palms brought famine to the three cities of Shibam, Sa'um, and Tarim."

not reflect on their competence and devotion; and yet he is "by no means satisfied." Why?

Faced last October with a direct question, Dingle Foot was forced to admit that "imports of foodstuffs from Axis-controlled sources . . . into . . . Greece have undoubtedly exceeded in quantity exports of foodstuffs from (the country) since (the) occupation." The Ministry does not say that that is not still the position. We believe it cannot do so.

LAST OBSTACLE

The conclusion is forced upon us that the Ministry is "by no means satisfied" because it dare not be otherwise. It has had to admit that men, money, food and ships are available for relief. Doubts about control are the last argument it has. If it lets that go it must give way to public opinion and common humanity.

In another reply to Mr. Graham White on the same day, Mr. Foot gave the terms of the control agreements:

"HM Government and the US Government agreed in 1942 to allow foodstuffs to be shipped to Greece through the blockade under the following conditions:

1. All belligerents to give safe conduct in both directions for ships engaged in carrying foodstuffs to Greece for distribution as relief under this scheme.
2. A neutral commission to be established in Greece and have under its direct control the distribution of all goods imported as relief.
3. Foodstuffs imported as relief through the blockade to be reserved solely for the Greek population and to be distributed where, in the opinion of the Commission, the need is greatest.
4. Foodstuffs originating in Greece to be reserved solely for persons normally resident in Greece in peace-time, except in so far as any foodstuffs consumed by the armed forces or officials of the occupying Powers are replaced by the equivalent import of foodstuffs into Greece for the Greek population.
5. The Commission to have the right and duty to verify by direct observation that these conditions are fulfilled, to be sufficiently numerous and to maintain a sufficient staff, and to enjoy (with its officers) such a complete freedom of movement and facilities for inspection and inquiry as are necessary for this purpose."

Those are the agreed terms. Unless the Ministry can prove that these terms have been broken by the Germans in Greece during nearly two years of life-saving work, they have no excuse for refusing any longer to send relief to Norway, Holland, Belgium and France, if similar terms are obtainable for those countries. We hope that MPs will insist on this concession when the Ministry of Economic Warfare Estimates come before the House for approval shortly. We must not wait for a new winter and new disasters.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

"Traveller's Tale"

AN important part of the work of Pacifist Service Units' Headquarters is that of keeping pacifists up and down the country informed of the work that is being done by the Units. This job falls mainly to the Liaison Officer and in this capacity for the past 9 months I have been travelling about the country speaking to pacifist (and other) groups. While part of my job is to raise cash to keep the work going, this is by no means its only aspect.

Now that PSU has been going long enough to have a "past" to look back on, we are better able to see the relationship of our development to the pacifist movement as a whole and I think it can be said that we are able to do more than help "conchie" to do "good work"—that we can serve both society and pacifism.

In visiting groups and hearing their comments and questions I have been struck, firstly by their enthusiastic response to work whose scope is all too limited, and secondly by their readiness to appreciate that a pacifist service body is something more than a "charity" and that as a workshop it can help pacifists to find out by trial and error the practical difficulties of applied pacifism.

Much serious thought needs to be given to these difficulties and problems, but pressure of work and limitations of personnel make it difficult to give them the calm and unhurried attention they require. I am convinced that our experience contains much material which would amply repay study by groups.

The February Peace News pamphlet "Pacifism on the Doorstep" and the PSU pamphlet "Pattern in Relief" indicate the scope of the material, while the report on Social Case-work v. h Problem Families, which is being prepared as quickly as the shortage of personnel allows, will suggest some of the more detailed problems that arise.

The time is now approaching when groups will be considering their winter programmes and I should be very glad to know of any groups which may be interested to hear a speaker on the work being done and/or to consider study of the problems of applied pacifism.

To conclude: PSU can use all the personnel it can get. To those who are considering taking up social service as a post-war job we can offer wide and valuable experience, and in certain directions there is some reason to hope that the work may lead more directly to the start of a career in social service.

MIKE LEE

NATIONAL COUNCIL

Ronald H. Smith has resigned from National Council, to which he was elected last April. Since election he has been appointed to the PPU Head Office staff, and he considers that members of staff should not also be members of Council.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4. Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

ACCOMMODATION

WANTED: SMALL house or self-contained flat, London or outskirts. Write J. J. Spicer, 91 Lordship Rd., N.16.

URGENTLY WANTED: small unfurnished house, bungalow or cottage. Garage/gdn. if possible. 20 miles radius London. Box 476.

WOULD KIND person provide furnished room or board and accommodation in safe area anywhere for London mother (50) and child (8) at moderate cost? Box 487.

UNFURNISHED FLAT, cottage, house. Ten miles radius Milford, Surrey. Need urgent. C.O. doing hospital work. Box 490.

PACIFIST DIRECTED to professional work in outer London requires lodgings for several months near Becontree. Box 492.

GENTLEMAN WOULD take married couple as sole paying guests in 16th-century manor house. Own sitting room, telephone. Garden produce, poultry. In quaint old-world village near golf course. Bus route. Trains 1 hour London. 6½ gns. each. Box 489.

FREE BOARD and lodging offered Surrey village for one or two weeks in return for work two or three hours a day in small garden. Box 483.

YOUNG COUPLE desire rent cottage Home Counties or share accommodation with unconventional household. Box 497.

PACIFIST SCHOOLMASTER starting work Welwyn Garden City Sept. seeks local aid finding home for self, wife and baby nearby. Pyle, Ivy Cottage, Brading, I.O.W.

NON-COMBATANT (art master) requires flat, small house, London area; wife, 3 children; rent or purchase. Grateful any practical suggestions. Box 491.

EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

FREEMOUNT, Bacton, Hereford. Full freedom for individual development and expression in co-education. Personal care in communal home of lovely surroundings. Modern health principles. From 7 years. Katherine and Peter Young, M.A.Camb.

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ALLYSOL—After 5,000 years a way has been found to remove from garlic its intolerable smell. Get to know Allysol healing liquid, tablets, and sweet-smelling garlic ointment. Send for booklets about garlic. Please refer to advert. in this issue.

COLOURED ART Facsimiles are awful. Original paintings and etchings by Old and Modern Masters including Brangwyn, Cameron, Eric Gill, John, McBey, Nevinson, Matisse, Sickert, etc., from Holder, 5 Grove Terrace, N.W.5.

PRINTING PRESS complete comprehensive collection type and accessories. Suitable for pamphlets and magazines. Cook, The Mount, Noak Hill, Romford, Essex.

WANTED — FOOTBALL, dark shorts and other equipment for boys' club. Box 498.

LITERATURE, etc.

NEW PAMPHLETS, with Poems. No. I on Penal Reform, with intr. by Stuart Morris; No. II "Still Towards Democracy," with a foreword by the Duke of Bedford, by Alan Hadfield, M.A. Cantab. Post free 1s. 7d. each. Northern Lights Press, 16 Park Pde., Harrogate.

BOOK BARGAINS! Large stock to clear, anything for everyone. Send 1d. for lists. "P.N.", Dockenden, Benenden, Kent.

SIXPENCE FOR 3 pamphlets, or 3d. each: "Absolute Pacifism"; "Compulsion and Private Judgment"; "India: Who is Responsible?"; post free from D. Owen, 6 Mount Street, Manchester, 2.

WANTED To complete series, copies C.B.C.O. Bulletin published previous to Sept. 1942. What offers please? Box 494.

MEETINGS, etc.

DAVID CUSHMAN Coyle will speak at Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1, on Jul. 4, at 1.20 p.m. Subject: "Anglo-American co-operation."

MIDLAND PACIFIST Fellowship, Jul. 2, Selly Oak F.M.H., 3 p.m. "Talk won't build a new world," Harry Webb.

WOUBURN DISTRICT, Blatchley, Leighton Buzzard, Bedford. Preliminary notice: Patrick Figgis visits Woburn, Sun., Jul. 23. Afternoon meeting: evening service. Details later.

OLDBURY P.P.U. group invite you to a social gathering on Sat., Jul. 8, at Warley Institutional Church, Pound Rd. Tea, 6 p.m. Talk by John Barclay, 5.45 p.m. Social, music, and dancing, 6.30 p.m. Midland Rd buses 124 and 125.

BOURNEMOUTH POST-WAR Reconstruction Group, 5 Wellington Rd., Friday, Jul. 7, 7.30 p.m. "Shaping the Future." Vera Brittain.

NORTH LONDON. Muswell Hill, Highgate Group. Henry Hilditch: "Negotiated Peace." Friends' Meeting House, Church Crescent, Muswell Hill, N.10. 7.45 p.m., Jul. 12.

PERSONAL

WOULD ANY farmer (preferably Berks, Surrey, Hants.) consider providing work and home for semi-problem boy (14 in August)? Box 482.

P.P.U. BIRMINGHAM Council. Note that cheques and subscriptions should be made payable to the new Treasurer, John Ounsted, 89 Middleton Hall Rd., Birmingham, 30.

SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants who are in any doubt are recommended to consult the Pacifist Service Bureau, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

LLANTHONY BROTHERS, inter-denominational religious community, require two men, one for land work, other to help in house, plain cooking and assist occasionally in youth hostel. Interest in church music advantage not essential. No cranks, no crooks wanted. Simple rule. Fr. David, Llathony Brothers, Capel y Ffin, Abergavenny, Mon.

MARRIED COUPLE wanted: household duties; gardener, handyman; furnished cottage, good wages, splendid situation. Box 486.

ODAM HILL School and Children's Farm, S. Molton, Devon, needs married handyman (exempt position) end July. Wife help in school. One or two children welcomed.

SITE FOR caravan and plot about 160 ft. by 40 ft. with small wage for anyone willing to help tend remainder of garden in lovely countryside. Edwards, "West View," Shere Road, Horsley, Surrey.

URGENT: outside representative for typewriter business. Salary and commission. Owner, C.O. anticipating prison. Cook, The Mount, Noak Hill, Romford, Essex.

YOUNG MAN required for general work on market gardening. Previous experience not essential. Small wage with full board and lodging. Good home, pleasant surroundings. Near Taunton, Somerset. Employer a C.O. Write immediately, Box 488.

SECRETARIAL AND general assistance required in Circulation Dept., Peace News. Shorthand-typing essential. Apply Office Manager.

PROG. SCHOOL. Bucks., has vacancies Sept. asst. matron, exper. pref. and domestic help light housework, mending, etc. Box 495.

FLORIST MANAGER required West London company four shops. Experienced market-buying and supervising staff. Good post-war prospects. Apply by letter. Morland, Westbury, Wilts.

WANTED: DOMESTIC help. Two friends welcomed, but no accommodation for children. Hurtwood School, Peaslake, Guildford. Tel. Abinger 119.

CONSCIENTIOUS FEMALE worker for modern dairy farm required, varied duties, Quaker C.O. farmer, Exeter district, experience helpful but not essential. Live in, or small unfurnished cottage possibly available. Box 496.

INTERESTING LIFE for women willing to assist in catering in farm-houses for workers at progressive farming community. Temporary or permanent. Work approved by the Ministry of Labour. Full particulars from The Secretary, C.F.S. Ltd., Holton Beckering, Wragby, Lincs.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

DUPLICATING—100 copies, quarto, 4s. 6d., postage extra. Also expert typing. Winifred Jewell Typewriting Office, 8 Lammas Park Gardens, Ealing. Phone Ealing 1645.

GENTLEWOMAN C.O., 44, domesticated, requires post in small quiet country guest house, preferably Gloucestershire. Box 484.

WELL-EDUCATED YOUNG man seeks London post. Expt. journalist, pvt. secretary, and commercial routine. 3 languages. Touch-typist. Good salary essential. Write Box 485.

REGISTERED ARCHITECT. Experienced houses, shops, and flat design. War damage. R. Sparrow, M.Inst.R.A., 134 Regent's Park Rd., N.3.

MUST WE RUIN ALL FRANCE?

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

bership with them is to be broken by compulsion from Moscow, it will disgrace the cause of the United Nations for ever.

The conspiracy of silence over the fate of the Baltic Republics gives little hope that any effective protest will be made. We shall be told again that the terms are "generous."

Escapism of war

I HAVE been studying the report of a discussion among a private group of people who, though they are convinced supporters of the war, are yet deeply concerned for the future. What most impressed me was their pessimism. They confess that the hopes they had of a renaissance of high purpose of the nation have disappeared completely. I could not but feel sorry for them.

Compared to theirs, my own position was almost enviable. From 1926 onwards I had believed that nothing short of a new birth of moral responsibility in Britain could save Europe from the disaster of total war. And when I finally decided that new birth was not coming—that the country as a whole was indifferent to the outrage of mass-unemployment at home and its ravages abroad—it was really a question of waiting for the catastrophe, material and moral, of a "civilization." Confidence in a national moral renaissance by and through modern war has always seemed to me directly comparable with the euphoria of phthisis.

Men and nations do not think more courageously because of war. On the contrary, they think more timidly. War is an escape from fear, not an overcoming of it, and it ends in a frenzied passion for "security."

Devastation of France

HOW terribly urgent it is, in the plain interests of this country, that the piecemeal devastation of France should be averted is made clear enough in a message to Reynolds News (Jun. 25).

"It is time the public faced up to the problems created by the necessary bombing and shelling of towns and villages lying in the path of the Allied invasion armies."

"A point which should not be balked at is the effect that this will have on the minds of the French people—an effect which I believe will take at least one generation of liberation to wipe out."

"No one doubts the military expediency of these measures, but it is essential to realize their consequences. Some towns and villages—particularly in the American sector—have suffered worse than anything in England caused by blitzing."

"It is essential that the majority of French men and women be shown that this is their contribution not only to the Allied victory but to the rebirth of a civilized and independent France."

The unintentional irony of the last sentence is appalling. Was France not civilized? Did she not, even under German occupation, remain civilized? Can we expect that France will be grateful to us for the devastation caused by a "liberation" which she did not desire? Take a map of France. Compare the size of the "liberated" territory with that which remains. Is it not a crime against humanity, and the blasting of any hope of future friendship with France, to neglect any effort that might spare an unwilling France from systematic devastation?

Tailpiece

I OUGHT, I suppose, to say something about the Debate on the White Paper on Full Employment. But, honestly, discussing the domestic future of this country at this moment seems a kind of moral levity.

My mind is full of the tragedy of France. I don't, in my heart of hearts, care what happens to England: we would be bound to pull through somehow if we had enough imagination to feel and be determined to shorten the tragedy of France.

If we haven't got enough imagination—then again I don't care what happens to this country. It will get what it has deserved.

C.B.C.O. BULLETIN

An article by Lewis MacLachlan on "The CO and the Second Front" is one of the features of the June issue of the Bulletin of the Central Board for COs, just published (price 3d., by post 4d.).

PACIFISTS and the SECOND FRONT

WHAT can pacifists rightly say about the opening of the Second Front? The nation has decided on the ordeal—and in this case there is no doubt that it is a national decision.

Masterly planning and careful attention to every detail have resulted in the difficult and dangerous operation of a landing on open beaches being carried out with unexpected ease and with an accompanying loss of life very much less than had been feared and expected. The chances of an Allied victory have been notably improved and the whole nation is following the campaign in Normandy with mixed feelings of apprehension at the sacrifices that will still be involved and hope for the final outcome.

What can we say in this situation that is loyal to our own position and yet respects the sincerity of others? The columns of Peace News testify to a certain difference of opinion in this matter. May I, without making any claim to be a representative pacifist, set down, for consideration, my own view.

First I want to praise the courage, the sacrifice and the devotion of those actually taking part in it. Many of us have close relatives or intimate friends among them. We must retain the capacity to enter imaginatively into their experiences, to understand how they feel and to respect their fine qualities.

Second, I want to say that I share their hatred of the evil things against which they are fighting. I have no wish to deny that there is much evil in our own national life but I cannot equate this with the excesses of the Nazi régime. I do consider that occupied Europe is in the grip of an exploiting tyranny and I share the eager wish to set it free.

Third, I want to explain why I am not actively supporting the war effort—why indeed I have on occasion to go out of my way to make it clear that I am withholding my support.

I am driven to this on two grounds. My intuitive judgment, based on the revelation of God in Christ so far as I understand it, is that participation in war is wrong. I agree that many Christians whom I respect and whose sincerity is not in question make a contrary judgment. I differ from them with regret and I have tried to listen to all they have to say, but having done so my judgment remains unaltered and I must be loyal to it.

On the plane of rational judgment I come to the same conclusion. I do not believe that, in fact, the evils which we abhor in the Nazi régime can be overcome by fighting the Nazis, much less by fighting all Germans,

NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL DECLARATION

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

Germans and non-Germans undertake together in the various countries of Europe, but it is urgently desirable that to those tasks there should be brought the largest possible contribution from civilian workers from all countries anxious to give disinterested service in the reconciliation of peoples and the meeting of their common needs.

By these personal contacts in a common service, by the restoration at the earliest moment of the fullest freedom of discussion within Germany itself and by large-scale inter-visitation between Germany and other countries, the "re-education" of Germany and especially of German youth will best be assured. The German educational system will have its part to play in an international education movement and its contribution to make to the fostering of the international mind and the acceptance of the privileges and obligations of world citizenship.

But the re-education of Germans in Germany is essentially a problem for the Germans themselves. A nation cannot be educated into democracy by foreign supervisors or by police forces stationed on its soil. If a true democracy is to be realized in Germany, the Germans must achieve it for themselves and the outside world must help to provide the atmosphere and the conditions in which that achievement can succeed and endure.

nor do I believe that a war of liberation is the only way of rescuing "enslaved peoples". But I make this reasoned judgment partly because I have already made the other. By itself I make it with less certainty.

I cannot assume that when others differ from my judgment the difference is necessarily due to government propaganda, or fear, or economic pressure, or imperfect ethical standards, or nationalistic sentiment, or even to a combination of all these. I do not believe that the pacifist case, cogently presented to the unprejudiced mind, will necessarily carry conviction. I judge the pacifist position to

**A personal point of view
contributed by
Dr. ALEX WOOD
chairman of the P.P.U.**

be right but my respect for those whose deliberate judgment is different remains unimpaired.

Fourth, I want to make it clear that while I have renounced the method of war I have not renounced the struggle against evil. To that struggle I am committed equally with those who believe in the war method.

But the war method and the pacifist method of struggle cannot be pursued simultaneously, with the result that during war the pacifist is often shielded, much against his will, from some of its dangers and even its inconveniences and his opportunities for showing the courage, sacrifice and devotion of the soldier are very restricted.

Yet among the first paratroops to land in Normandy were pacifist members of the RAMC; conscientious objectors in the Non-Combatant Corps have volunteered for service abroad and members of Pacifist Service Units have won public respect and admiration by their heroism. The pacifists who have offered themselves for medical research experiments and last but not least the very large number of conscientious objectors who have imperilled the livelihoods of their families, and faced repeated and prolonged terms of imprisonment and detention, have shown courage of a different but certainly not an inferior order.

Lastly I suppose we all agree that the fact that the vast majority of the nation has made its judgment, as we think wrongly, is no reason why we should modify our convictions. It is only when we begin to consider what in the actual circumstances we ought to do that differences arise.

We all believe that free negotiation is the surest foundation for lasting peace and there are those who think that the preaching of this doctrine is the necessary and sufficient task of the pacifist movement. For some this may be so but for others this long-term policy is too indirect in its effects on immediate political decisions.

To be effective in the present situation we must, I believe, seek out points of contact with those whose minds on the main issue are made up against us. This involves no disloyalty on our part to pacifist principles—it merely involves a different judgment as to what is the practically effective line. In these circumstances what points of contact are available?

Many supporters of the Second Front are not happy about the policy

PRISONERS COMMENDED GERMAN GUARDS

At a court of inquiry following a fire at a prisoner-of-war camp, Stalag XVIII A, a British marine was called to represent his companions.

"As a request had been made by the men for me to pay respect where it was due," he has written home, "I recommended two of the guards for bravery in the fire."

The letter is quoted in The Prisoner of War (May issue).

*The award of a German decoration to a British prisoner of war for saving a child's life during an RAF raid on Germany was reported in PN three weeks ago.

of "unconditional surrender" and wish some statement of the kind of peace which it is proposed to make to be stated by the United Nations. Many are not happy about the exclusion of "enemy nations" from the rights proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter. Many are concerned about the starvation in occupied countries and disquieted by the policy of obliteration bombing. Many do not accept the facile identification of the whole German people with the evil things that have been done in their name and are genuinely apprehensive of a peace of revenge which will be no peace.

Here are directions along which we may move to keep imagination and compassion alive and secure a better peace. So what I really want to say to those who support the Second Front or are actually in it is: "If victory comes, remember its tremendous responsibilities and strive that it may not be dishonoured by an unjust and vindictive peace."

THEY HELP EPILEPTICS

There are now ten CO attendants and some pacifist nurses working at the Lingfield Epileptic Colony, Surrey, which has a population of 460 patients and a staff of over 50. The aim of the colony is to educate the patients, in an environment in which they have no oppressive feeling of abnormality, into responsible people with a balanced attitude to life.

The Colony is short of staff, both male and female, which it is felt would not be the case if COs realized the great possibilities of the work, and the scope it gives for initiative and imagination in an excellent but sadly neglected cause.

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